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“THE OLD ROMAN PLAN.”

*Or, the project for getting rid of
the People.*

Kensington, April 6, 1825.

THE readers of the Register will remember, that, on the 25th of June and 3d of July last, I addressed two letters to Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, in consequence of a Speech which had been made by him in the LORD CHARLESSES' House, and of the wisdom of which it is quite enough to say, that it was worthy of the head of the RUMP and even of the House of the Lord Charleses. Some days after the last of the two letters had been published, I met a gentleman, who exclaimed: “Well! I think you have blown the *Old Roman Plan* to the Devil: for my part,” added he, “I should, if I were in the place of BURDETT, never make a speech again, except to dogs or

“horses.” “Softly,” said I, “do not libel those gallant and sagacious animals: the one would have bitten him, and the other kicked him, if he had said to them that which was cheered by the Lord Charleses.”

In the speech just spoken of, the Baronet was got into one of his flights. The subject was a motion of Mr. HUME for taking away from the Established Church of Ireland a part of its immense revenue, seeing that it had scarcely any flocks, and seeing that the money would go far towards the relief of the people of Ireland. The Baronet, who was for the motion, must needs take a flight upon the occasion. He did not say a word to show how the adoption of Mr. HUME's motion would be good for Ireland; but made a speech to show, that nothing would do Ireland any good, except the getting rid of a large part of the people formed part of the measure. He assumed, that there was a redundant population, and that the remedy was to send the

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[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

people to the colonies. He was for an extensive system of colonization, on the "*Old Roman Plan*"; and he said, that "eight hundred thousand pounds would go a great way to carry it into effect."

I so completely exposed the folly of these notions and of this "*Roman Plan*," that most people thought, as I certainly thought myself, that we never should hear of either again, except, perhaps, in the paragraphs of the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Ricardo Lectures* of Peter Maccullock, or in some collection of impudent stuff, proceeding from *MALTHUS*, or some other of those at once booing and brazen Scotchmen, who lead the great gaping English men of acres by the nose, just as a showman leads a bear. I thought, that the clearness with which I had proved the folly, the silliness, the worse than childishness, and almost the idiocy of the "*Old Roman Plan*," had done for that "plan" for ever. I thought, that, after that, no one would ever have the emptiness to even allude to that "plan," except in the way of ridicule.

What, then, has been my surprise at seeing it revived, and even proposed to a Committee of the *House* that the Baronet is now become so fond of? And proposed,

too, by a Mr. WILMOT HORTON, who is, it seems, an *Under Secretary of State*! Ah! we are to have the Roman-Burdett plan, then, are we? Poor Ireland is to have the Burdett-remedy applied to her? The world is going to see this new and wise caper of the wise THING? No: we shall not: I wish to God we could see the caper attempted upon the Burdett-scale. The "plan" is quite wise enough to be attempted; but, like *PEEL'S BILL*, it is a matter beyond the power of the THING.

However, it is well worth our while to see what the THING proposes; what it *would* be at if it *could*; so that, though we shall not have to thank it for cutting this new caper, we may not be wanting in gratitude, but may take the will for the deed; and that the people of Ireland, those whose labour raises the food and raiment consumed *there*, and also a large part of what we consume *here*, may be fully apprized of the benevolent wishes of the THING, and may be satisfied, that it would get rid of them if it could.

Be it known, then, to all the lovers of fun, that the said Mr. WILMOT HORTON has come before a Committee as aforesaid, and proposed to thin the population of Ireland upon the Burdett-

Roman plan. This Committee has long been sitting: its business appears to be to inquire into the *causes* of the miseries of Ireland, and to suggest, if it be possible, a *remedy* for those miseries. Before this Committee came, some time ago, the above named Mr. WILMOT HORTON. His evidence I find in a "Digest of the Evidence" on the First Report from the "Select Committee on the State of Ireland: By GEORGE WHITE, Clerk to the Committee." I shall insert this evidence *nearly entire*, as I find it, begging the reader to go *patiently* through it, if he *can*. It must, indeed, put every man's patience to a severe test; but, it is necessary to read it, in order to see what the **THING** would be *at*, if it *could*. Most readers will, as they go along, exclaim, twenty times, "the fellow is mad!" and throw down the Register. But, it will be best to take it up again, and to go quietly on to the end; for, though I know, that the **THING** has not the *power* to cut this new caper, and though I know, that the **THING** will soon have quite enough to do *to look after the gold that is going out of the country*; though I know that the **THING**, instead of having *fifty millions of hard money*, or rather, a *hundred*

millions, to employ on the Burdett-Roman-Wilmot plan; though I know, that the **THING**, instead of having these hundred millions to sport with in this way, will *not*, if it do not look *very sharp*, have *one gold sovereign to chink upon another* in a very short time; though I know that the Burdett-Roman-Getting-rid-Scotch-economy-Malthus project will be completely driven out of the **THING'S** head by the *serious* question, whether the Bank shall be again "*restrained*," or, wheat shall be three shillings and sixpence the Winchester bushel, the dimensions of which are now be ascertained by means of a Scotch **PENDULUM**! "*Vast improvements*, Ma'am!" Though I know all this, and that another Bank-restriction, or wheat at four shillings a bushel, would give the **THING** a complete *tumble*, and twirl Scotch economy, Peter Ricardo, Macculloch's Lectures, check-population Malthus' project, and the Burdett-Roman plan all to the devil together; though I know these things, and that, after all, the whole heap of corruption and nonsense can never outlive *this last trial of the paper-money*; still, it is right, not to let pass us, without putting on record, a project like this which we

have now before us, and which will, in after times, be cited as a *specimen* of the tricks, shifts, and contrivances of that system, which has reduced the people of this kingdom to their present state of abject misery.

I will *number* the paragraphs in this *evidence*, as it is called; so that the several parts may be the more easily referred to by the reader. A thousand statements, made by authors of books and pamphlets, could not do what this evidence does in stamping the character of the whole of the **THING**, which is the "envy of "surrounding nations and the admiration of the world." It will be seen, that this Under-Secretary embodies in what is called his evidence, a letter, or memorial, from a body of persons, called the *Quebec Emigrant Society*, to the EARL OF DALHOUSIE, who is, it seems, the *Governor*, or something of that (to us) *costly kind*, in Canada. This memorial I shall insert, as a paragraph, in its place in the "*evidence*"; and, from this the reader will see, that money is taken out of the taxes, which we pay in England, and is sent to Canada, to be *given in charity* to the emigrants that go from Ireland! Oh! it is a *wise THING*! and, just with all to

the labourers of England, who have to pay a part of this tax! It is a precious Burdetto-Roman plan for getting rid of the "*redundant*" Irish! This English money, sent to relieve the poor suffering Irish in Canada, instead of sending it to them in Ireland, must be, as it is, the "admiration of the world." However, let us suspend further expressions of our admiration till we have gone through this most **THING-like** evidence.

1. On the subject of emigration from Ireland to the Colonies, I would refer the Committee to an extract from the Report of the Select Committee in 1823, which refers to the emigration which was then commenced, but the result of which had not then been known. To a certain degree, we have received information; at the same time, as Mr. Robinson, the superintendent of that emigration, is here, I think the details of it had better be derived from him.

2. The circumstances that induced Government to turn their attention to this subject were these. In the year 1823 it was considered that it might be desirable, with reference to the state of the south of Ireland at that time, to encourage a partial emigration, more as an experiment, than with any view that an emigration on so small a scale could produce any very beneficial results. Upon the subject of the emigration that has been carried into effect under the directions of His Majesty's Government, specific information can be given; with respect to the application of a more extended scale of emigration from Ireland, I am not in the least authorized, on the part of the

Government, to say any thing; as an *individual* my attention has been directed to the subject, and if I can supply any information, I shall be happy to do so.

3. With regard to the probable effect of introducing an enlarged system of emigration from Ireland, I would observe, that I consider that it is an admitted fact, that in parts of Ireland the population may be considered as redundant, in the sense of the supply of labour being very disproportionate to the demand; I should imagine, that in such a state of things no remedy could be more satisfactorily supplied than emigration carrying off that population, of the employment of which no opportunity can be there found, provided the expense of carrying such emigration into effect is not too great to justify such an expense. The estimate of the expense of the emigration, in the course of the year 1823, was completely justified by the result of the experiment. In 1823 the emigrants sent to Canada, consisted of 568. The expense per head was 22*l*. The Committee will understand, that the experiment having completely succeeded as far as it has gone, with the incurrence of the expense of 22*l*. per head. This includes the location of a settler, and his maintenance for a year, and being placed in a position in which he can carry himself on with his own industry under an average rate of seasons without any further assistance.

4. With regard to the scheme of emigration generally, I am decidedly of opinion that 20*l*. for each person (the proportion of men being as one to four) may be considered a correct estimate, and one that may be safely adopted; and I trust it will be found sufficient to embrace the allowance of the superintendent.

5. Abstract of expenses incurred in settling 568 Irish emigrants in Upper Canada:—182 men, 143 women, 57 boys between 14 and 18, and 186 children under 14, 12,539*l*. 3*s*. 0*d*.

6. I should certainly feel great hesitation, particularly before this Committee, in offering any opinion as to what extent the annual emigration ought to go, in point of numbers, so as to produce any influence upon the population of Ireland; it is scarcely possible to state any opinion upon the subject, without, in some degree, making an allusion to that presumed redundant state of the population of Ireland: to come first, therefore, with that qualification, I will state my opinion: In the first place, the capabilities in the colonies of Canada alone, of receiving a population, are found to exist to so great an extent as would probably surprise the Committee, without examination in detail of the circumstances of that colony. I see no reason in principle, why the emigration, which has been successfully carried into operation in the year 1823, and respecting which the most ample details can be given to the Committee, may not be carried into effect with reference to any conceivable number of persons disposed to emigrate; I mean, there is nothing in the amount of the numbers which would make it impossible to apply the principle; if a hundred men can be located at a given expense, in a given district in Canada, I see no reason why 100,000, 200,000, or 500,000 are not to be located at the same rate of expense. I think it is a material point to establish that fact; in Upper Canada alone I have no hesitation in saying, there is the most distinct evidence that 160,000 persons can be received. The present Governor of Lower Canada, Lord Dalhousie, is now in London; if the Committee think fit to avail themselves of the accidental circumstance of his being here, to give information with respect to Lower Canada, the province immediately under his government, he would be prepared to inform the Committee, that in that district alone, and that is the district of Gaspé, situated to the south of the St. Lawrence, and immediately to the northward of New Brunswick, he will tell the Commit-

tee, there is no doubt that in that province, where the soil is remarkably fine, and the climate good, and where there is an earlier Spring than in the western parts of Lower Canada, that that province alone would absorb a population with the greatest facility of 500,000 persons. I wish to press upon the Committee, that in speaking of this subject as a colonial question, there is no limitation to the extent to which population can be absorbed, and that the local Government would not feel any difficulty in disposing of them. And with respect to the practical question, as applied to Ireland, it appears to me to be simply this; if you have a redundant population, and that population agricultural, or capable of being applied to agricultural purposes, if you can remove that population at the rate of 20*l.* per head in so satisfactory a manner as to remove them from a situation, where, I presume, they are exposed necessarily to every inconvenience, and where their situation must expose them to every sort of temptation of outrage and disaffection; if you can transport them to your colonies, and transmute them into an orderly, satisfied and contented peasantry, whether it be or be not worth while, in a national point of view, to incur such an expense for such an object.

7. In making these observations upon emigration, I restrict myself entirely to the two Canadas; but there is the province of New Brunswick, which alone would absorb an enormous population, and there are other colonies which are capable of receiving emigrants without any limitation. In fact, if it be demonstrated that the *removal would be a justifiable expense* for the country to incur, it does not appear to me, that there can be *any sort of difficulty* in locating the emigrants in the colonial possessions of the empire.

8. Upon the subject of voluntary emigration, unconnected with any support from Government, and which

subjects those who enter into it to most serious inconvenience; I think is well worth the consideration of the Committee, whether any measure can be adopted to put that system of emigration under some regulation.

9. It appears that the emigration from Great Britain and Ireland to the Canadas, which commenced shortly after the final establishment of peace in 1815, went on in gradual increase from 5,000 or 6,000 persons in the course of a Summer, to 12,900; all of whom were landed at the port of Quebec, 19 out of 20 being casual emigrants. In the years 1822 and 1823, 10,300 emigrants upon an average annually arrived at Quebec. By far the larger proportion of these were little better than paupers. Having paid from four to six pounds for their passage and their sustenance on the voyage, they found themselves destitute on arriving at Quebec; they had neither the means of going upon Crown land if granted to them, nor of cultivating it. The greater part, if they had money to pay their passage up St. Lawrence, or if they could obtain it by a few days labour at Quebec, hastened on to Upper Canada; and of those who did so, perhaps one-half went on to the United States. Few remained and became useful and effective settlers in the Lower Province. The proportions of the whole emigration to be assigned to the three nations may be stated at about three-fifths Irish, and the remainder English and Scotch, with a larger proportion of the latter. Of the English and Scotch, perhaps one-fourth at least brought money or other resources with them. Of the Irish, scarcely one-twentieth landed with any thing but a scanty provision of clothes and bedding. Those who had not the means of settling on land, or who did not, or would not go to Upper Canada or the United States, remained as labourers in the principal towns of the Lower Province; and when the approach of Winter at once diminished their

sources of employment and increased their wants, they became a burden on the community.

10. It is *satisfactory*, however, to know, that up to the close of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, this autumn, *only* 7,500 emigrants had arrived at Quebec, and that the greater part of these were of a better class of people than those of former years, and better provided with the means of subsistence.

11. In the district of Quebec, within the last year, it has been ascertained that the expense of conveying a family of emigrants to a distance of 100 miles up the St. Lawrence, and of furnishing them *tools and provisions*, has not exceeded 10*l.* for each family.

12. In 1817 the voluntary unregulated emigration was 6,976; in 1818, 8,221; in 1819, 12,907; in 1820, 11,239; in 1821, 8,056; in 1822, 10,470; in 1823, 10,258; in 1824, 75,000; most of them came from Ireland.—Three-fifths of them were Irish, the other two-fifths English and Scotch.

13. What measures appear to me, if I am asked, as practicable, to assist this voluntary emigration; I think I cannot do better than read the Address to Lord Dalhousie, from the Quebec Emigrant Society; which points out very clearly the inconvenience and expense which is incurred by those voluntary emigrants.

To His Excellency Lieutenant General the Earl of Dalhousie, G. C. B. Commander of the Forces, &c. &c. &c.

14. "The Members of the Quebec Emigrant Society, an institution which, for several years past, has received such essential assistance, as well from the private liberality as from the patronage, influence and

authority of your Lordship, feel themselves called upon, by their sense of gratitude to your Lordship, by their regard for the interests of the Association, by their feeling of the public importance of this *charity*, and their experience of its necessity, to lay before your Lordship, upon the eve of your visiting the mother-country, *A Statement of their application of that Bounty*, which was procured by your Lordship's interest with His Majesty's Government at home, and of the repetition of which they have been led to indulge the hope; a hope which, as they trust, will not be prejudiced by the inspection to which they now submit the discharge of the duty confided to their hands. Your Lordship is well aware, that the influx of emigrants disembarking at the port of Quebec has not been lessened, the number having amounted, in the last season, to 10,258; add that the proportion of these who are *unable to proceed further*, is by many degrees greater than the city can either provide for, in the way of labour, or relieve in the way of *charity*, especially after the commencement of that severe season, which at once diminishes the sources of employment, and increases the wants of the poor. The *lounty*, therefore, of His Majesty's Government, of which so large a share was, for the reasons just stated, assigned by your Lordship to Quebec, was a *relief* most opportunely bestowed; but the Society have been far from regarding it as a mere transfer of the burden of *charity* from the shoulders of the citizens, to the *resources at the command of Government*; they have felt themselves responsible for the appli-

cation of this bounty in such a way as within the range of their exertions should at once produce benefit to the country, and promote the permanent advantage of the emigrant, by inciting him to good habits, or preserving them, if already acquired, and by aiding him in the actual settlement of his family; the operations, therefore, of the Society, within the last year, have been distributed under those several heads:—

"1st. The relief of helpless indigence. Among the settlers of the year there have been found, as usual, widows with young children, and sickly persons, perhaps with whole families attached to them, either *wholly destitute or insufficiently provided with means to procure food, clothing, lodging, stores and fuel.* Although these wants have been supplied under the most economical arrangements, and with a systematic calculation of improvidence in the persons to be relieved, (to whom, therefore, it has been very rarely in the shape of money that relief has been extended,) this branch of expenditure has amounted to 200*l.*—
2d. The providing of work. The society have long made it a rule to extend no mere charitable relief to any able-bodied men, and to answer the plea of distress from want of employment, by *furnishing employment themselves.* During the last season they have continued the system of employing a number of settlers in *breaking stones for the roads, and others less prepared to endure exposure to the climate, in picking oakum or making mats.* As it was the object of the society to render the acceptance of their offer of work a test of real distress, these men were paid according to a scale framed, barely with a view to enable them to provide the necessaries of life, and made to vary with the number of persons dependant upon the labour

of the individual; a man, with nine children under the age of labour, receiving 10*s.* and a *single man 5*s.* a week.* *Spinning and knitting* were also provided for the women. The necessity, however, in many cases, of assisting the labourer, in the first instance, *in clothing,* with other circumstances, placed it out of the calculations of the Society that they should receive any thing like an adequate return for their disbursements; the proportion of which, both to the work performed and the profits accruing, is hereafter stated. The third and last branch of expenditure has been, that of aiding the settlement of emigrants. A *selection* having been made from among the labourers in the Society's employ, of men of good character and steady habits, and the necessary arrangements having been executed with Captain Chandler, seignior of Nicolet, and Mr. Jushereau Du Chenay, seignior of Fanpambault, with an appropriation of the average sum of 10*l.* for each of thirteen families at the former place, and the same average sum, with a deduction for the difference in the expense of transport, for each of six families at the latter, to be expended under the direction of committees, in *tools, provisions, and other necessaries.* The Society have thus put it into the power of large families to take their portion of the wilderness to be converted into a scene of culture and habitation; and to lay the foundation of comfort and independence for themselves and posterity. It remains only, that the Society profess once more their lively sense of obligation to your Lordship, and their disposition to engage with alacrity, under the auspices of your Lordship, in the repetition of their task, should they be chosen again as the channel for conveying that bounty of His Majesty's government for which there is all appearance that the call will yet continue to be urgent."

" STATEMENT :

Dr.	1823.....and.....1824.	Cr.
	£ s. d.	
To Expenses in placing 13 families of Emigrants, on lands, at 10 <i>l.</i> each family, at the seignory of Nicolet	130 0 0	By Amount placed at the disposal of the Emigrant Society of Quebec, from the <i>bounty of His Majesty's Government</i> ; viz.
To ditto six families, at Fanpambault	15 0 0	750 <i>l.</i> sterling, equal to currency
To Disbursements in the relief of helpless indigent Emigrants	200 0 0	By value of stone broken by Emigrants
Disbursements of the work Committee	300 0 0	By value of Oakum picked, and Mats
Paid for Passages of Emigrants forwarded to their friends in the interior of the country, and of widows and families who have returned to Ireland	68 0 0	
	£713 0 0	
To Balance in favour of the Quebec Emigrant Society	282 10 1	
	£995 10 1	

15. I would observe here, that it is of extreme importance with respect to emigration, that the emigrants should have *enough to start them fairly in their new country*; if not, they necessarily become a burden to the community, and if the Committee were to examine Lord Dalhousie upon this subject, he would state his opinion of the necessity of affording some sort of actual local superintendence over this system of emigration. It has been adopted with respect to military settlers with the greatest possible advantage; it may in some degree increase the expense. I allude to the establishment of a sort of police superintendence, to take care that the people execute the purposes for which all this benefit has been conferred upon them, and, therefore, under those circumstances it would be necessary, in any emigration from Ireland, that this point should be perfectly understood by the parties going out.

16. I think it is extremely necessary that the two distinct characters

of emigration should be kept separate; that which the government may direct, and to which the national money may be applied, for the purpose of relieving parts of Ireland where the population is considered to be redundant; and voluntary emigrations, because probably those emigrants will be found to be of a very different character, and to include very different classes of persons; and the same political reasons may not make it desirable to encourage the one so much as the other. Nothing would be more easy than to establish regular communications between committees appointed in Ireland and committees at Quebec, to regulate that species of voluntary emigration to which the minute I have just put in from the Quebec Emigrant Society especially alludes; in fact, the existence of the Quebec Emigrant Society shows at once that there is a body of persons who would be ready to communicate and to carry into effect any mutual arrangements of that nature.

17. I should wish to take this

opportunity of adverting to the satisfaction which has been unequivocally expressed by the emigrants, *at the change in their situation*, and which appears in the strongest manner from the letters which they have addressed to their friends in Ireland:—but I should feel some hesitation in laying them before the Committee as public documents, as the letters are strictly private.

18. Before I go further, I beg leave again to state, *most cautiously*, that I am only giving *an individual opinion*, and not in the slightest degree pretending to give the *opinion of the Government*; perhaps I might even say that my opinions may differ very materially from other persons who may have considered this question, but I certainly am inclined to think, from all the information which I have been able to acquire, that there are districts in Ireland in which the *abstraction of 200,000* unemployed persons (and persons who, whatever may be their conduct in Ireland under their existing circumstances, would be likely to make very good emigrants) would be attended with the best possible results. I feel more satisfied myself of the possible advantages to be derived from the removal of such persons, than as to the question how far the expense, in a national point of view, *can be justified*; but I take the liberty of observing here, that the expense is by no means thrown away in a national point of view, because we must take into our consideration the improvement which the colonies are to derive from the presence of these persons, and from the *cultivation of their waste lands*, and the consequent *general increase of national wealth* which would be there produced, where especially no evil would result from any further increase of population.

19. Having stated that the superabundance of population in Ireland is merely relative; if I am asked, do I think that the applying the four

millions, which it would cost to export those two hundred thousand persons, as *capital in Ireland*, would give them sufficient employment, so as not to make them superabundant population in Ireland,—I certainly am of opinion that greater advantages would, as I have already stated, take place from the introduction of capital, *after a certain proportion of the population had been taken away*; I do not at all mean to say, that I contemplate for a moment that all the redundant population, in the sense in which I employ that term, can be removed, but I think the removal of a part would *give a greater effect to the introduction of capital*. The question is, how are you to employ this capital? I must presume, that capital would naturally flow into Ireland, if there was a chance of that capital producing a beneficial return; and, therefore, till I am informed in what manner it is proposed to employ four millions, in the introduction of capital to put this population in employment, I can hardly be expected to give an answer to the question; and I again repeat, that I must presume, that if there was a conviction that capital could be beneficially employed, it would flow into Ireland without any operation on the part of Government.

20. When I say, that the abstraction of a certain portion of this redundant population would be a good preparation for the employment of capital in Ireland; I mean, that it would *produce an increase of tranquillity*, which would tend to encourage persons to send their capital into Ireland, and then the introduction of capital might *absorb the whole redundant population*, and the natural result of an employed population would ensue. It is necessary, in calculating the expense which has been alluded to, as compared with the wages of labour in Ireland, to take into consideration the advantages which are to arise to the country in a national point of view, from the

removal of those emigrants. We have colonies *requiring population*, which feel every hour that it is the want of population that prevents their resources from coming into play, and which are ready to receive this particular class of population, which it is contemplated to send them; and I should imagine, that so far from the expense of that four millions being lost to the country, if traced accurately for a series of years, this capital would be found to have reproduced itself in the colonies in the most beneficial manner, it would unquestionably be a present outlay of capital, but ultimately there would be no loss incurred.

21. This money that is to be expended in carrying out of emigrants to Canada, would be just as much a forced application of capital as if the money so devoted *were to be employed in carrying on manufactures*; and, if the capital was employed in manufactures, it would be reproductive, provided it was employed beneficially.

22. And I have endeavoured to explain to the Committee that I conceived it to be impossible in a national sense, if you choose to consider the interest of your colonies as the interest of your empire, to incur an expense more beneficial, or with greater probability of reproduction, than to lay out four millions to locate men and to cultivate the waste lands of the provinces of Canada; I mean that the result of that cultivation would be in the highest degree productive; and if you look at ulterior results, would amply justify the measure in a mere financial point of view; although in the first instance it is necessarily attended with an outlay of capital. As to an estimate of the comparative advantage of employing capital in manufactures in Ireland, or employing it in transporting the redundant population to cultivate the waste lands of Canada, I have no means of giving a distinct answer, except that I pre-

sume, if there was any probability of a beneficial result, that individuals would, without the assistance of the Government, embark their capital, and absorb the population by employing them in Ireland. But I also beg leave to express an opinion, that unless this measure of emigration be coupled with local measures in Ireland, *to prevent that tendency of the population to increase as it has done*, that I conceive, though it would be a useful palliative, as a measure of ultimate benefit, it would be very much diminished in its effect; but it would be highly useful, as a measure concurrent with such measures as it is the province of this Committee specially to consider, and certainly the attention of the public and the government seem now most distinctly turned to the subject, and if this measure of emigration were *coupled with that*, it would produce the most satisfactory result.

The first remark to make, is, that this WILMOT, or HORTON, call him which you will, says, that he speaks only "as an individual"! Having said this in paragraph 2, is not enough for him: he repeats it in paragraph 18, where he begs to be understood as "not in the *slightest degree* giving the opinion of the Government." No! Bless your modest Wilmot-Horton face! And, so you, though a mere Under-Secretary of State, take documents out of the office, come before a Committee, appointed by motion of the Ministers, bring these documents with you, tell the Committee that they may call

LORD DALHOUSIE, tell them that they may call Mr. PETER ROBINSON, the Scotch (I warrant) Burdett-Roman superintendent; and, you do all this, modest Mr. WILMOT, (the Wilmots were always famous for modesty), of your *own head!* Not in the "slightest degree" directed by the Government! We may reasonably ask, how this Committee of the great "House" came not to endeavour to know, what "the Government" really thought about the matter? It is, surely, very odd, that they should be satisfied with the mere *individual* opinion of one man in office, and that one an *underling*.

However, it would be hard in me to quarrel with Mr. HORTON WILMOT about trifles; for, he has furnished me with a full confirmation of my estimate of *costs*, as stated in my Letter of the 3d July to Roman-Burdett. I said that the transported persons would cost us *forty pounds each*, if sent, as *great numbers* must be, to a *wilderness*, where there would be no *shops* to go to, and *nobody* to *give them work*. This, as we shall presently see, Mr. Horton Wilmot completely proves for me; and, we shall, by-and-by, when we come to look at this cost in another light, have to laugh at and to de-

spise the childish old Roman plan projectors.

MR. PETER ROBINSON SETTLED (mark the word) 568 Irish in Upper Canada at an expense, from first to last, of 12,539*l.* 3*s.* 0½*d.* which sum, bear in mind, *half-penny* and all, came out of *taxes raised in England*; that is to say, 22*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* a head! Bear this in mind. But, what sort of persons did Mr. PETER take out?

Men..... 182

Boys, from 14 to 18, that

is, more men 57

239

Women 143

So that the old Roman plan reverses the patriarchal fashion, and, instead of two wives to a husband, allots two husbands to a wife. This Roman plan reminds one of the scene of the two Dukes in HARRIETTE WILSON'S Memoirs, which, by-the-by, will do a great deal of good. Mr. PETER ROBINSON is, like his namesake, Mr. FREDERICK ROBINSON, least communicative on points where we must naturally wish for the fullest information. Mr. PETER does not tell us of what *sexes* the 186 children were; and, it was very desirable to know this, and to know also the *ages* of them from 1 to 3, from 4 to 6, from 7 to 10,

from 11 to 13; for, be it known to Mr. Peter and also to Horton Wilmot, that, if Mr. Peter took out none, or a *small proportion*, of the *very young ones*, the whole thing is a bubble, a sheer deception. Then, again, why did not this precious pair of political philosophers tell the Committee what were the *ages* of the *men* and *women*. Yet, it was very material for us to know this, seeing that the *labour* of the emigrants was, even upon this little Roman plan, to give them the means of living even for the first year!

Either Mr. PETER took a portion of old, *worn out*, men and women, and also ailing men and women, or he did not. If he did, how were they to get a living by their *labour*? Ailing children too, mind. If he took a fair proportion of these, he would have about 60 of them out of the 568. And how were they to *live*? If he did not: if he left behind him all the aged, infirm, decrepit; all those *unable to labour*, what a *favour* did Mr. Peter and the THING confer upon Ireland!

Mr. PETER is, at the suggestion of brother statesman and philosopher, Wilmot, in the "*individual*" capacity of the latter, called in by the Committee; and he tells them, that he "*selected*"

the emigrants, and that he got "*small farmers*" and such as had been "*brought up in habits of agriculture*." Very naturally: he did not, of course, take any so aged or infirm as to be unable to *work hard*; for, if he had, it would have been of no consequence whether they had been brought up in *habits of agriculture* or not. It is evident, then, that none but able men and women were taken by Mr. PETER, who "*relieved*" Ireland of a part of its prime population by means of 12,539*l.* 3*s.* 0½*d.* of English money, leaving all the aged and cripples as a further boon to the "*Sister Kingdom*."

Reader, observe, that this was an "*experiment*" (our THING is famous for experiments!) to see how the Roman plan would work; and, you see, that it is on this experiment, that Mr. Horton Wilmot recommends, as an "*individual*," the getting rid of *some hundreds of thousands*. But, when this man was prating away at this rate, how came a Committee of *law-makers* not to ask him any thing about the *ages* and *bodily state* of the emigrants? And, above all things, how came they not to ask some question about the staring fact of disproportion in the numbers of the *two sexes*?

What: did they sit and silently suck down all this "*individual*" had to say? How came they not to ask, *why* the number of the *girls* from 14 to 18 were not mentioned, as well as the *boys*, by Mr. Peter? If they had, Mr. Peter would, I dare say, have confessed, that he reckoned such *girls* amongst "*women*." So that here are nearly *two men to one woman*, which "*plan*" is precisely that of the *Dutch Reformation teachers*, when they came over to teach the English, in the reign of EDWARD VI., how to "*get rid*" of the gold and silver that was still remaining in their churches. They had, by LUTHER, been taught to set their vows of celibacy at defiance; and, therefore, they held it to be lawful for *priests to marry*; but being, like the Scotch, an *economical* people, they brought over but *one for every two teachers*.

"Some Anabaptists hither came

"From *Dutchland*, each one with his dream,

"And, *between ev'ry two, a woman*;

"For all, but faith, they held in common."

WARD.

Another deep philosopher, who has the relief of Ireland greatly at heart, I mean the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, has lately told us, that the Scotch, who are "*more prudent* than the Irish, have *more bastards*," and, thereby,

avoid the evils of "*redundant population*."

But, the great object of the evidence of the philosopher, HORTON, being to "*relieve*" Ireland of its "*redundant population*," is it not strange that this Committee of law-makers did not ask this philosopher, whether he had never observed, that the farmers' wives, whose object it is to have a numerous breed of chickens, keep a great many more hens than they do cocks? Whether he never heard, that the game-preservers are very anxious to spare the hen-pheasants? And, whether, therefore, he thought the most likely way of checking the increase of the population in Ireland, was, to thin it of *men* and not thin it in more than half the proportion of *women*? Surely our law-makers know, that, to keep more cock-pheasants than hens is to lessen the breed; for, the cocks, not being so "*prudent*" as the Dutch and the Scotch, *fight*, disturb the nests, and, in a season or two, leave the covers with scarcely any population at all. The Committee might, then, have suggested to 'Squire Wilmot to think of this a little before he recommended a Roman plan, carried on agreeably to this "*experiment*;" and they might have asked

him, whether it would not be better, to adopt the reverse of the plan of the *Dutch* teachers, and export only one man to every two women?

It is manifest, that the statesman philosopher, PETER ROBINSON, selected people *able to work hard*, and took as few as possible of any other description. He tells the Committee, that these people, whom he is said to have *settled*, would be able to get *even bread* to eat, "if they had an opportunity of *working out* during the harvest." Oh, oh! Then they must have somebody to *give them employment*, or they cannot get *even bread to eat*, though every soul of them, down to the smallest child, had already cost us, the people of England, 22*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*! They were, the philosopher and statesman, Peter, says, *supported at first, by the government*; but, he does not tell us the *cost of this*; and he mentions *a cow* (to a family, I suppose) given them "by *His Majesty's government*"; that is to say, out of the labour and rents of the people of England. Could the cow cost less than 6 pounds? At 5 to a family, here were 113 families; put down, then, if you please, Mr. PETER, 678*l.* more. Of *clothing*, he says, they were

very bare, and, for this and bedding, recourse must, he says, also be had "to *His Majesty's government*." After all this the statesman, Peter, says, that he thinks that there is "a very *reasonable chance* of their being able "to provide for themselves *after the first year*."

Now, reader, look, soberly if you can, at the Burdetto-Roman plan. You see, that this "experiment" was made upon persons, nearly two-thirds of the grown persons of whom were *men*; that it took in none of the aged, infirm, or decrepit; that it took the people to a *country already settled*; that, though they were *put down* on uncleared lands, there was a settled neighbourhood where they could, sometimes at least, *get employment and earn some money*; and, yet, to place these people so as to give them "a *reasonable chance* of being able to provide "for themselves *after the first year*," has cost 22*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* a head; not including (as I understand Peter) the *cow*, the *clothing*, and various other things. However, suppose all to be included, suppose the "*chance*" to be "*reasonable*," and suppose, that the Scotch philosopher, Peter, who has bespoke, it seems, another cargo; suppose all he says

to be strictly true, and this is supposing a monstrous deal more than most people will suppose; suppose all this; admit it all, and even then, "*to get rid,*" as these two philosophical statesmen call it, of only one *out of seven* of the "*redundant*" Irish, would cost 22,007,500 pounds sterling!

But, let the people be fairly taken; let there be as many females as males; let there be a due proportion of aged, infirm, decrepit, lunatic and sickly persons; let the dissolute and lazy and awkward classes send their due share away with Mr. Peter; let the whole go to a wide wilderness, not within reach of either employment or shops of any kind; and, then, ask yourself, reader, whether there must not be support by the Government for *four or five years*, besides much heavier expense at first; and say, whether you can be made to believe, that the cost could be less than 40*l.* a head to carry into effect the old Burdett-Roman plan.

You see what misery a mere handful of voluntary emigrants are exposed to. The memorial to Lord DALHOUSIE gives you a picture of their miserable state. They, even they, who are able to pay their own passage out, are

obliged to come and sweat the old hack, the purse of England. Curious view of the **THING'S** *wisdom and justice*. The **THING** will not make the Irish landlords relieve their own poor; but, this same thing will, when those poor go to Canada, make *us* relieve them *there*! O, brave **THING**! Thou art certainly the eighth wonder of the world! However, thy paper-money will very soon make thy wondrous wisdom apparent to all the world. Only think of the English labourer being taxed to raise money to send to Canada to relieve Irishmen, who are there employed in *cracking stones*! Why not relieve them while they are cracking stones *here*, or in *Ireland*? This employment at cracking stones clearly shows, that there is already a *want of employment in Canada*. It proves it beyond all doubt; and, yet, the philosophical statesman, Horton Wilmot, would send, at least, *two hundred thousand persons more into that colony*!

But, after all, what is this philosopher's plan? He loosely talks about Canada being capable of "*absorbing*" (that is, *sucking in*) 500,000 Irish; but, being as modest as he is profound, he contents himself with proposing to send only 200,000, at the expense

of 4,000,000*l*. How a Wilmot talks of millions! He really seems to think, that there is nothing more necessary than to *say the word*. The Bank *could* tell him otherwise now, and *will* tell his masters otherwise in a little time. And, *why*, good Mr. Horton Wilmot, would you spend four millions of our money in order to transport 200,000 Irish from that fine and fertile island into a wilderness, to be stung half to death in summer, and to be frozen half to death in winter? *Why*, good statesman philosopher would you do this thing?

Oh! says he, my reasons are obvious as the nose on the face of the author of the Roman plan. You see, says he, I would thus *relieve* Ireland of a part of her redundant population; that relief would produce *tranquillity*; that tranquillity would cause "*capital*" to flow into Ireland; that capital would *absorb* the rest of the superabundant population; for, the population is redundant only because there is not a sufficiency of capital to find it employment.

Well, Sir, we now come to something like a clear understanding. How, say you, you would relieve this redundancy by taking away 200,000? What relief could

be effected by taking away *one* person out of *thirty-five*, including the bed-ridden and the babies? Surely there could not be much tranquillity produced by taking away *one active man* out of about every *hundred*; for, Mr. Horton Wilmot, whether you know it or not, one half of the people are females, and not more than a third part of the males *active men*. However, it is one out of every *thirty-five*, and no more. You did not tell the Committee, nor did they, wise law-makers, ask you, that I can see, *why* you expected *tranquillity* to reign in Ireland in consequence of taking one person away out of every thirty-five; but, let us suppose a thing so wonderful as such an effect from such a cause, *then*, say you, the *capital* will go to Ireland. Talk *English*: leave off the Scotch philosophical balderdash: call it *money*: say, that *money* will *then* go to Ireland. What, in consequence of your taking away the 200,000 people? Yes; in consequence of that. Well; but my good Horton Wilmot; are you really serious in believing all this? Do you, good Horton, sincerely believe, that the taking of these few people away (one out of thirty-five) will produce such effects? Yes; it

"will relieve the *redundancy*." God bless me! Let me look in your face, Horton. You look steady enough, too. Well, but now, Horton, these 200,000 people are all *poor*, are they not? Aye, to be sure, and that poverty is caused by the *redundancy* of the population, which redundancy would, I tell you, be relieved by my taking these 200,000 away. So, then, Horton, if these people were *not poor*, they would not stand in the way of that "*capital*," which you say would go and set all to rights in Ireland. Precisely: it is their poverty that makes them *redundant*; their poverty does all the mischief. Well, Horton, why not *make them rich*? Why not give them each a little fortune. Aye, if that could be done, we need not remove them. Do it, then, man! *Give them the four millions of money*, instead of giving these millions to ship-owners and to Mr. Peter Robinson! Do you see, Horton, what a queer way you go to work to produce tranquillity in Ireland, and to get "*capital*" there? *Send them the money*, man; and there are the tranquillity and the "*capital*" in Ireland without any further trouble about the matter.

But, Horton will say, the 20*l*. a head will soon be spent. Hor-

ton is not to reckon in this way: it is *a hundred pounds a family*, mind that, Horton. It is, according to your friend Peter's lowest amount, 22*l*. 1*s*. 6*d*. a head, and 110*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*. a family. It *would* be double that, if you took the people fairly, and took them (as you must) to a wilderness, where they could get no work from persons already settled; but, let that pass: let us take your own estimate. Here, then, is *a hundred pounds sterling for an Irish labourer and his family*. That man has a *fortune*: he is no longer in distress: he makes no addition any longer to the mass of discontent: and you have, good statesman Horton, all the game in your own hands: give the money, and all your desired effects are produced in an instant! Why, then, dear Horton, pester your poor noddle about schemes of *emigration* and "*absorbing*" population? Why, when you have in your own hands a little fortune for PAT and his family; while you have *a hundred pounds for them*; why, dear Horton, since it is to be laid out in *foot raiment*, a cow, *implements, &c*; why, dear Horton, not let Pat and his family, since the food and raiment and implements and seed *must*, and the cow *may*, be grown or made

in Ireland, have these things without going across the Atlantic? Why, dear Under Secretary of State, when you *have the money* to buy pork, for instance, for PAT and his family; why *put them into a ship* to eat the pork? Why send them out with brother statesman, PETER, to *crack stones in Canada*?

What *deep* men Ministers are, reader! You and I, now, should never have thought of calling a labourer *poor*, while we had a hundred pounds in our pocket belonging to him. If we were trustees of a poor man, and had a hundred pounds in our hands belonging to him, we should put it out to interest, perhaps, and give him and his family the five pounds a year; at any rate, the devil a bit should we ever dream of expending it in sending him four thousand miles to squat him down in a wilderness, though he might have "a reasonable chance" of supporting himself. Neither should you or I be apt to discover, that the *nation* was likely to acquire more wealth by laying the hundred pounds out in a colony that may not belong to it for ten years, and that was very nearly taken from us only ten years ago, than by laying it out, or keeping it, at home. These are discoveries that

none but the THING'S own peculiar *breed* are capable of making.

The "experimental" emigration under philosopher PETER consisted of 568 persons. At *five* to a *family*, here were as many families as made the cost 110*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* for each family. Now, if philosopher Horton could have been content to let these people have the money *in Ireland*, would here not have been so many families *well off*? Nobody would have talked about a *chance* of their being able to support themselves. So that we have paid 110*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* a *family* to philosophers, PETER and HORTON, in order to procure for these families what Peter looks upon as a "*reasonable chance* of their being able "to support themselves"! It is useless to talk: a country, with such *heads*, must be miserable; and this country must, and will (for it will never *remain long debased*) get into other hands. The paper-money will set us free from the sway of statesmen, Peter and Horton.

It is enough to make one crazy to hear a statesman say, that the taking away of a *thirty-fifth* part of the people will *relieve Ireland of the pressure of redundancy*; but, then, if it be true (as the

Scotch and other philosophers say it is), that the population of Ireland increases in such a way as to *double itself in about twenty years*, the philosopher, Wilmot, will do very little for poor Ireland, unless he take away 200,000 people every year! And, thus, in the course of 20 years, he will expend 80,000,000*l.* To be sure, we shall have the *mines*! But to do the statesman-philosopher justice, I must observe, that he did tell the Committee, that the laying out of these four millions of our money would be of no use, unless measures, "*local measures were adopted to prevent the population of Ireland from increasing as it has done.*" Ah! Daddy Parson MALTHUS comes now! However, this is not, though a very bright thought certainly, an *original* one. Philosopher and statesman Horton ought to have said, that he borrowed this idea from the philosophical statesman, BURDETT, who, in his speech before mentioned, insisted on the necessity of these *preventive measures*.

It comes to this, then, at last, that, according to these statesmen, Ireland has a very *good government*; that her affairs are very properly managed that all that a wise legislature and a wise exe-

cutive can do for her is done for her; but, that the *propensity* of the people to marry, to breed, and to increase, is unhappily such, that, if this propensity be not *checked* by some means or other, that people must continue in a state of misery, which, every hour, exposes the whole kingdom to danger, even while a large standing army is constantly employed to keep them down. This is what all the statements and all the opinions and all the projects of these statesmen and philosophers come to at last: this is their sum total; so that, the first inquiry is, *what measures can be adopted to check this fatal "propensity" in the Irish to breed?*

Reader, it is all a heap of falsehood, all that is told us about the increase of the population of Ireland: all a parcel of foolish, stupid lies, in humble imitation of the braggings of old George Rose. But, suppose these lies to be truth: or, rather, admit them, for argument's sake, to be truths. And, then, where is the evil as long as Ireland *can grow five times* as much as will feed the present population, and as long as she *does grow twice* as much as will feed it? She exports as much food as she eats; and, while this is the case, how can she be *injured by a redun-*

dant population? Remember, that the Scotch philosophers and Malthus want the poor-rates done away in England, because, by relieving the distressed, they cause a redundant population in England; and remember that the Irish have no poor-rates to relieve the distressed, so that their redundancy comes from a want of that which causes the English to be redundant! Then these philosophers ascribe the redundancy in Ireland to the existence of so many small farms; and yet they insist, that there is a dreadful redundancy in England, which has arisen since all the small farms were swept away! And, one thing is perfectly notorious; namely; that misery has increased in England with the decrease of small farms; and yet philosopher and statesman Burdett insists, that to sweep away the small farms is the way to put an end to misery in Ireland!

But, to quit all this mass of silly lies, and of stupid inconsistencies, may we not be permitted to ask, how the Committee of law-makers came not to ask statesman Wilmot, what it was that he thought ought to be done to check the breeding propensity in Ireland? This must have been a singularly silent Committee. What! When he was talking of measures, upon

which the whole subject turned, not so much as ask him what the measures were! Here was a "select" body of lawgivers, sitting in council to find out the means of putting an end to the miseries of Ireland; and here comes a philosopher and statesman, proposing to lay out four millions of money, as one step in the important affair before the Committee; but, adding, that this will be of no use at all, unless measures to check population be adopted, at the same time that the four millions are laid out. And, strange to say, the Committee do not ask him what those measures are!

Thus left in the dark, we may conjecture if we can. There are three plans, that we have heard of, the first of which is the OLD ROMAN-BURDETTO PLAN; that is to say, to drive the small land-occupiers from the soil, and to cause an emigration, upon "a grand scale," to defray the "cost" of which 800,000*l.* would go "very far." Peter has laid out for us 22*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* a head to "get rid" of 568 select people, almost one-half of whom were able-bodied men. Horton requires four millions to "get rid" of 200,000 people; so that 800,000*l.* would only just take this pitiful number down to the water's side, put

them on board of boats, take them a mile out, and there *sink them*. This *must* be the old Roman plan; for, what else can be thought of when a man talks of "emigration upon a *large scale*" at a cost of little more than 800,000*l.*?

The next is what I will call, the RUMP-PLAN, of which, however, it is rather difficult to speak without exposing oneself to censure on account of indecency. This is founded on the principles of true *Scotch philosophy*. It teaches married people how to avoid having children, and names to them, outright, the *mechanical means* they are to make use of for that purpose! This plan was, some time ago, *fully detailed in a printed handbill*, which had not the printer's name on it. A large parcel of these bills were sent from London to a man, whose name is TAYLOR, and who publishes a newspaper at *Manchester*. The parcel was directed to a Mrs. MARY FILDES, a journeyman manufacturer's wife, requesting that she would distribute them amongst *wives* of the labouring people. The handbill insisted, that it was the *carelessness* of the women, in having children, when they *might so easily live in the married state without it*, that was the cause of so much misery amongst the work-

ing classes; it exhorted them to *use the means of prevention*; and then it *described those means*, and in a manner to make one wish to see the beastly writer actually horsewhipped to death. Mrs. FILDES sent one of the handbills to me; and I understood, that she had sent one to each of the *Ministers at Whitehall*, one to the *Attorney-General*, one to each of the *Judges*, and one to the "*Society for the Suppression of Vice*." I call this the *Rump-plan*, because I have been told, and I believe, that it was *printed for one of the Rump*.

The third plan, which is certainly the best of the three, not only as being the most effectual, but also the most *humane*; and that is, the FLOODING-PLAN, or, putting Ireland *under water for 24 hours*. The author of this plan is not less renowned for his bravery than for his wisdom; and, if it be objected to his plan, that it *cannot be carried into execution*, it is, then, only upon a level, in this respect, with the other two, while it has the decided advantage in other points of view.

I shall now quit philosophers, Peter and Wilmot, and their projects, with just asking my readers, what *hope* there can be for a country, where such projects can be

gravely submitted to those who make the laws to govern that country? There can be, in the mind of any rational man, no hope that things will mend. All must go on as it is now going on, as long as it can go on. A war will find us with greater embarrassments than we are able to cope with in peace; and, the natural consequence is, some great and terrible convulsion at last.

Even at this moment the thing is so nicely balanced, that no man can say, on what day all the boasted "*prosperity*" will be blown into air. Those, in whose hands the paper-affair is, cannot even *guess* at what will be its state *this day six months*. They are evidently *alarmed*; but, the worst of it for them, and the best of it for me, is, that their taking alarm will be of *no use to them*. They are running right on upon *quicksands*; and, if they change their course, the *rocks await them*. No question that there is an underhand stirring-up of petitions for *importation of corn*; and yet, if these be attended to, the *landlords and farmers are ruined*; and, if they be not attended to, another large class are ruined or half-starved. The *Small Note Bill*, which *partly repealed Peel's Bill*, has procured the system a *respite*;

but, the term of that respite is now, I am convinced, approaching its end; and when that end comes, *execution* will take place.

Then we shall hear no more of Old Roman-Plans, Rump-Plans, nor Flooding-Plans; we shall see Catholic Emancipation without disfranchisement; we shall soon wonder, that it was ever proposed to us to *pay* a church against the faith of which we *protested*, while we paid an army to keep people quiet in a country, where the church revenues have been taken, and are withheld, from that clergy whom it is now proposed *for us to pay*! But, as long as *this paper-money shall retain its powers*, never shall we see any change of any sort to better the lot of the people in any part of the kingdom.

In the meanwhile, looking again to that fertile island, relative to whose laborious people the aforementioned foolish and mad projects are on foot, I cannot refrain from expressing my sorrow, at seeing the altercation kept up between Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. LAWLESS. Neither has given the other very serious offence; and, the cause of Ireland needs the union of all her able sons; for, that cause has nothing to hope for from any of those who have ever been

its enemies. Mr. LAWLESS has published an "*Address to the Catholics of Ireland, on Sir Francis Burdett's Bill.*" This address is calculated to produce great effect; but the author may be assured, that the Bill, against which he so ably writes, will never become a law. There are persons, who fear, that the Lords will reject this Bill, and *pass the Bill of Disfranchisement.* I am of a different opinion. I think they will reject the whole, and that, too, with very little ceremony. Again and again let me say, and let me beseech the people of Ireland to believe, that never will they obtain emancipation *as long as the paper-money system shall last.* A war would bring it to an end: there are other causes, some of which are now at work, which would produce the same effect. But, at any rate, to an end it must come, before the Irish people will obtain that for which they pray.

In conclusion, let me beg my readers to reflect on what would be their state, if another Bank-"*restriction*" were to take place; or, if wheat were to come again down to *four shillings a bushel.* One of the two, I am convinced, they will see at no distant day. Those who hold leases, those who have let lands and houses, those who

are about to ship goods or to give long credit, should bethink themselves in time. Wheat is 4s. a bushel in France, and 9s. in England: if this continue for any length of time, *gold cannot remain in England as currency,* even on a small scale; and, I should not be at all surprised, if, even before this present Session of Parliament be over, some measure were adopted approaching towards a *legal tender*; for, to go back to wheat at 4s. a bushel these folks never will, until a *storm* shall carry them thither.

WM. COBBETT.

" LIBERAL " PRESS. :

THE following Letter, and Answer, will speak pretty plainly for themselves; but when the reader has gone through them, I shall make a remark or two.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE
MORNING CHRONICLE.

*Monopoly of privileges by the
Proprietors of Land.*

SIR,—I trust to your impartiality for an opportunity of addressing, through the medium of your Journal, a few plain questions to those gentlemen, who, styling themselves the *advocates of*

a liberal and enlightened policy, are now demanding for the monied and trading interests, what they are pleased to term, *an equal share of the privileges of the constitution*, and which is said to be justly due to the weight which those interests have lately acquired in the scale of national wealth. I am extremely anxious to learn whether those just and liberal politicians intend to claim an equal share with the landed interest in the following amongst other enviable advantages:

1. An equal share of the parochial assessments for the maintenance of the poor.
2. An equal share of the charges of supporting the clergy.
3. An equal share of the expenses of gaols, prisoners, building and repairing bridges and the other objects of the county rates.
4. An equal share of the duty and surveyors rates for repairing the highways.
5. An equal share of the land tax.
6. An equal share of the stamp duties upon conveyances, mortgages and transfers, of landed property.

I earnestly request to be informed, whether "the great modern interests," and in particular, whether the 3 per cent. consols, which, as it has been facetiously remarked, "*can eat pheasants*," are prepared to swallow and di-

gest all the privileges enjoyed by the landed interest, and especially those which are above enumerated. If they are not ready to do so, I think I am justified in asserting that their claims originate in selfish and partial motives, and that they have no foundation in reason or justice.

W. E.

Temple, April 4th.

THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING
CHRONICLE TO MR. E.

THE Editor of the Morning Chronicle has *no other objection* to Mr. E's letter, than that his questions are irrelevant to the *matter at issue*—at least for the most part. If Mr. E. wishes to controvert the *received doctrines of Political Economy*, he must adduce something like argument. If he is not an *opponent of Political Economy*, then he ought to know that tithes, for instance, are a tax on the nation, and not on the landholder. If any point has been demonstrated by Mr. Ricardo and others, this has.

With respect to stamp duties on transfers, that is a question for consideration when taxes are selecting. If the tax falls heavily and unjustly on landholders, they have surely a sufficient voice in Parliament, and ways, if they choose wise arguments, both for

simplifying the mode of transfer and reducing the tax. They will have the support of the rest of the community.

The Editor does not see why they who have the power in their own hands, should of all men contend, that an injustice, which they can remedy, sanctions another injustice.

Here is a pretty excuse? What did Mr. E. want with this balderdash about "*Political Economy*" any more than he wanted a bag of brimstone? He saw the stock-jobbers wanting to grasp hold of a share of the "privileges" of the landholders, and he puts to the public a string of questions on the subject. The questions are very pertinent and on most interesting matters; but the Editor might think otherwise; and he had only, therefore, to reject the letter of Mr. E. who could hardly want to carry on a dispute with him *in private*. But, when he comes to give *reasons* for the rejection, he is fair game; his *motives* may be fairly questioned; and, for my part, I have no hesitation in saying, that he did not insert Mr. E.'s very sensible and yet very plain questions, *because he could not answer them*, because they touched the stock-jobbing

system in a very tender part, and because they were likely to tend to thwart the money-crew in their "liberal" design and hope to make the landholders tools in accomplishing their own ruin.

"Received doctrines of *Political Economy*." Received by whom? I know of nobody but the empty-headed dupes of the Scotch Jews who receive them. And, what is this "*Political Economy*"? This writer speaks of it as if it were an *Act of Parliament*, or, some great *public cause*, or *institution*. Who would think, that he meant a heap of rubbishy paragraphs, written by a man who "made half a million of money by *watching the turn of the market*," and another such a heap, written by a Parson, who proposed to starve the *working people*, to check *their breeding children*? Who would think, that he meant the nasty, beastly, and blackguard stuff, that a Scotchman at Sheffield and Leeds is reading, in the way of *lectures*, to the working men, in order to induce them to *insist upon their wives using the proper means to prevent them from having children*? This Editor himself has published a letter, signed F. P. very nearly as *beastly* as the Yorkshire Scotch Lecturer's stuff.

But, observe, he has an "*objection*" to insert the short, neat, and most pertinent questions of Mr. E.

However, there is only one end to all this, and that is the end of paper-money; and this Editor ought to think, betimes, what must become of the broad sheet, if the "*restriction*" should come again! Where will "*political economy*" and Peter Ricardo, Macculloch, and the non-breeding crew be then? "*Aye; but, it will not come.*" Yes; but, if it *should* come! It is *possible*, at any rate. I know that it must come, or that wheat must come again to 4s. a bushel; and this Editor must know that it is *possible*. Now, if either of these come again, there is an end of the paper-money, and with that die *stock-jobbing* and the *broad sheet* as sure as this Editor has a head upon his shoulders. He dares not now say that this event *will not come*, and that, too, *within a year*. I dare him to say it. I have no scruple to say, that I think it will come within a year from this time; and I should like to hear him say, *that he thinks it will not*. The Small-note Bill has produced and is producing all its natural consequences. The gold must go, or the wheat must come down in price. They are, even now, issuing sovereigns of 1825 coinage. There are none to be got, except in London. Paper-money has resumed its reign. The Scotch-jew system is in the "*full tide of experiment*"; and, only one blow demolishes it for ever; but not before it has spread unspeakable misery over every part of the kingdom.

DINNER TO MR. LAWLESS.

THE "friends of the freedom and happiness of Ireland" have invited Mr. LAWLESS to a dinner at the City of London Tavern, on the 12th of April, at which dinner I shall make one; for, amongst those friends, numerous as they are, there is not, I am sure, one more ardent and sincere than myself.

COLUMBIAN HUMBUG.

A YOUNG man in business has written to me for my opinion relative to emigration to what they call Columbia, to promote emigration to which there appears to be an Association of some sort. My opinion is this, that, if this young man be in circumstances any thing better than a common beggar, he will act a prudent part not to believe the promises of the Association, and will remain in England, among honest people, to get his living by honest labour; and I say this notwithstanding I perceive the Chairman of the Association to be Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, the Deputy Chairman PASCOE GRENFELL, and notwithstanding I see three Members of Parliament amongst the Directors, two amongst the Auditors, and two or three amongst the Bankers of this Association. The people that go will be ruined, and will very likely die cursing the Association and the Republic of Columbia. This is my decided opinion.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending March 26.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	68	9	Oats	23	9
Rye	40	2	Beans ...	36	11
Barley ..	39	6	Peas	39	0

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, March 26.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat	5,973 for 21,317	2	11	Average, 71	4	
Barley	5,808....11,982	13	5.....	41	3	
Oats..	15,765....20,718	5	3.....	26	3	
Rye....	62....	115	17	0.....	37	4
Beans..	1,443....	2,689	7	0.....	37	1
Pease ..	650....	1,316	13	5.....	40	6

Wednesday, March 30.—The report of arrivals this week is small, but a good number of additional vessels arrived to this morning's market chiefly laden with Wheat and Oats from the North. The observations that are made in Parliament about the Corn Laws tend to keep our market in a state of dullness. Wheat, unless superfine, is again lower. Barley sells very heavily, and is rather cheaper. Beans and Peas meet a very dull trade. Oats sold so heavily this morning as hardly to support Monday's prices. The Flour trade is excessively dull.

Monday, April 4.—There were considerable arrivals of all sorts of

Corn last week. This morning the quantities of Wheat, Barley, Beans, and Peas are moderate, from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, but there are a good many vessels fresh up from the North with Wheat and Oats. The weather is favourable, and the apprehension of further alterations in the Corn Laws, with liberal supplies, occasion our buyers to purchase very reluctantly. There has been very little trade for Wheat to-day, and even the prime parcels are quoted 1s. to 2s. per quarter, and other qualities 2s. to 3s. per quarter lower.

Barley is excessively dull in sale at a further decline of 2s. per qr. Beans are reduced full 1s. per qr. Boiling Peas are also lower. Grey Peas are 1s. per qr. lower. Malt is declined 3s. per qr. Oats are plentiful, and this article with difficulty meets sale, though offered at a reduction of 1s. to 2s. per quarter from the terms of this day se'nnight. In the Flour trade there is very little business doing.—Arrived during the last quarter, 50,801 of Foreign Barley, and 32,261 of Foreign Oats, all gone under lock.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	60s. — 65s.
— Seconds	56s. — 60s.
— North Country ..	52s. — 55s.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from March 28 to April 2, both inclusive.

Qrs.	Qrs.
Wheat .. 12,748	Tares 42
Barley .. 4,772	Linseed .. 1,650
Malt 5,530	Rapeseed. 25
Oats 25,957	Brank .. 550
Beans ... 1,394	Mustard .. —
Flour 8,547	Flax —
Rye	Hemp ... —
Peas 659	Seeds ... 219

Foreign.—Oats, 350 quarters.

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the Week ended March 26.

Qrs.	Qrs.
Wheat . . 36,152	Oats . . . 31,980
Rye 605	Beans . . . 5,781
Barley . . 30,211	Peas 1,559

Monday, April 4.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were 440 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports 3,203 casks of Butter.

City, 6th April, 1825.

BACON.

The stocks are very considerable; and there are no purchasers but for immediate consumption. Prices, however, do not decline.—On board, 56s. Landed, 57s. to 59s.

BUTTER.

As is usual at this time of the year, the stocks of the better kinds are become scarce; and, but for the occasional arrivals of Dutch, prices would have been exorbitantly high. Whether it is the facility with which credit is obtained in London, and the consequent competition in underselling; or whatever may be the cause, certain it is, that every article in this trade (Butter, Bacon or Cheese) is almost uniformly sold out retail at less than the first cost at the places from whence it is brought. Hence the retailers in this trade, though a hard-working set of men, have become so impoverished, that the wholesale dealers who have any property to lose, are afraid to do business, and those who have *not*, are circumscribed by necessity. The consequence of all this is, a stagnation such as has hardly ever been known before.—Landed: Carlow, 100s. Best Dutch, 110s. to 112s. Inferior kinds *nominal*.

CHEESE.

The high prices having checked the consumption, there is a good deal of *old* Cheese left on hand, which must be sold at reduced prices.

Cheshire, 66s. to 80s.; Derby, 64s. to 72s.; Double Gloster, 62s. to 70s.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 11d. by the full-priced Bakers.

Price of Hops per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday April 4.—Our Hop market remains without variation, and but little doing. Currency, Sussex pockets, 6l. to 6l. 15s.; Kent, 6l. 6s. to 7l. 7s.—1822's and 1823's, 75s. to 90s.; Old, 40s. to 56s.

Maidstone, March 31.—We have nothing new in the Hop trade to observe since our last report, as there appears less demand for them than expected; however, the stock of good ones left in the planters' hands is very small in this neighbourhood.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, April 4.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (*alive*).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	0	to	4 10
Mutton	4	8	—	5 6
Veal	5	0	—	6 4
Pork	5	6	—	6 6
Lamb	6	8	—	7 4

Beasts	2,054	Sheep	12,900
Calves	83	Pigs	90

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (*dead*).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 4
Mutton	3	8	—	4 8
Veal	4	8	—	6 8
Pork	4	4	—	6 4
Lamb	6	0	—	8 0

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (*dead*).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 2
Mutton	3	8	—	4 10
Veal	4	4	—	6 2
Pork	4	8	—	6 2
Lamb	7	0	—	8 0

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware.....	£3 10 to £5 10
Middlings.....	2 10 — 2 15
Chats	2 15 — 0 0
Common Red..	0 0 — 0 0

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware	£3 10 to £5 10
Middlings.....	2 10 — 3 0
Chats.....	1 15 — 2 10
Common Red..	3 10 — 4 10

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay....	65s. to 97s.
Straw...40s. to	50s.
Clover..	80s. to 107s.
Whitechapel.--Hay....	70s. to 105s.
Straw...44s. to	52s.
Clover..84s. to	120s.

COAL MARKET, March 30.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

37 Newcastle..	37	28s. 6d. to 37s. 9d.
20 Sunderland..	19½	29s. 6d.—39s. 6d.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.		Pease.	
	s.	to s. d.	s.	to s. d.	s.	to s. d.	s.	to s. d.	s.	to s. d.
Aylesbury	72	79 0	43	46 0	25	28 0	34	49 0	43	44 0
Banbury	64	80 0	43	48 0	25	30 0	40	50 0	0	0 0
Basingstoke	50	76 0	35	46 0	22	29 0	38	48 0	0	0 0
Bridport.....	64	70 0	37	0 0	24	0 0	46	0 0	0	0 0
Chelmsford.....	64	78 0	30	46 0	26	31 0	30	36 0	31	48 0
Derby.....	70	76 0	42	47 0	24	30 0	40	57 0	0	0 0
Devizes.....	64	77 0	32	51 0	26	34 0	36	56 0	0	0 0
Dorchester.....	56	76 0	30	42 0	24	30 0	42	54 0	0	0 0
Exeter.....	72	80 0	38	40 8	22	25 0	47	48 0	0	0 0
Eye	64	72 0	34	44 0	22	28 0	36	40 0	34	38 0
Guildford	60	83 0	36	47 0	24	32 0	40	46 0	40	44 0
Henley	64	81 0	23	48 0	26	30 0	30	50 0	41	47 0
Horncastle.....	58	66 0	32	43 0	16	24 0	36	48 0	0	0 0
Hungerford.....	58	76 0	30	43 0	23	34 0	40	58 0	0	0 0
Lewes	68	78 0	39	45 0	25	28 0	44	0 0	0	0 0
Newbury	50	80 0	32	43 0	20	30 0	36	50 0	40	44 0
Newcastle	56	70 0	28	44 0	20	28 0	38	42 0	38	54 0
Northampton....	73	77 6	43	47 0	22	28 0	34	51 0	0	0 0
Nottingham	66	0 0	46	0 0	26	0 0	49	0 0	0	0 0
Reading	62	85 0	30	49 0	22	28 0	38	45 0	40	45 0
Stamford.....	70	73 0	39	45 0	22	28 0	40	42 0	0	0 0
Stowmarket	62	74 0	26	40 0	20	25 0	32	35 0	32	35 0
Swansea	64	0 0	33	0 0	19	0 0	0	0 0	0	0 0
Truro	69	0 0	39	0 0	28	0 0	0	0 0	0	0 0
Uxbridge	64	88 0	33	49 0	25	32 0	38	44 0	42	45 0
Warminster.....	52	76 0	30	52 0	20	34 0	44	54 0	0	0 0
Winchester.....	69	0 0	40	0 0	26	30 0	0	0 0	0	0 0
Dalkeith*	33	37 0	30	38 0	18	24 0	18	21 0	17	20 0
Haddington*....	34	38 6	30	40 0	17	23 0	17	21 0	17	21 0

* Dalkeith and Haddington are given by the boll.—The Scotch boll for Wheat, Rye, Pease, and Beans, is three per cent. more than 4 bushels. The boll of Barley and Oats, is about 6 bushels Winchester, or as 6 to 8 compared with the English quarter.

Liverpool, March 29.—From a continuance of easterly winds, the supplies of Grain (with the exception of Oats) have been again but trivial. The sales of the past week were dull; still, however, late prices were supported. The excess in the arrivals of Oats was produced by the change of wind (westerly) since Sunday last. At this day's market, which was but thinly attended, there was very little business done, although Wheats might have been purchased 3d. to 4d. per bushel lower. Oats declined 1d. to 2d. per 45 lbs., and each article of the trade partook of the depressed state of the market of to-day.

Imported into Liverpool, from the 22d to the 28th of March, 1825, inclusive:—Wheat, 4,801; Barley, 965; Oats, 27,941; Malt, 1,167; Beans, 1,223; and Peas, 12 quarters. Flour, 973 sacks, per 280 lbs. Oatmeal, 854 packs, per 240 lbs. American Flour, 937 barrels.

Norwich, April 2.—The merchants refused to buy Corn of any description, in consequence of Mr. Whitmore's motion for the Corn Laws. Business in the Corn Trade will be at a stand still here till after that takes place.

Bristol, April 2.—The business done in the Corn markets here is very limited. The prices below are nearly correct:—Best Wheat from 8s. 9d. to 9s.; new ditto, 6s. 8d. to 8s. 3d.; inferior ditto, 5s. 6d. to 6s. 3d.; Barley, 3s. to 5s. 10½d.; Beans, 4s. to 7s.; Oats, 2s. 3d. to 3s. 3d.; and Malt, 5s. 6d. to 8s. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 30s. to 53s. per bag.

Ipswich, April 2.—Our market to-day was thinly supplied, and the prices of all Grain were lower. Wheat and Barley each 3s. and Beans 1s. per quarter. General currency as follow:—Wheat, 63s. to 72s.; Barley, 28s. to 40s.; Beans, 35s. to 36s.; and Oats, 18s. to 28s. per quarter.

Wisbech, April 2.—At this market to-day, Wheat must be called full 2s. per quarter lower; but in Oats, Beans, and Barley the quotations remain as before.

Boston, March 30.—The delivery of Grain is quite trifling this week; none but needy consumers are buyers of Wheat. The merchants will not buy Oats without more reduction than the growers are disposed to accede to, and little has been done in them. The trade is quite at a stand until the intentions of Government are made public as regards any alteration in the Corn Laws generally; therefore no quotations can be made with accuracy.

Wakefield, March 31.—The arrivals of Grain this week are much more moderate than of late, but there is a good quantity offering from granary. The market being held off the usual day has caused a thin attendance of buyers, and, from an idea that there is a probability of some alteration in the Corn Laws, scarcely any disposition was shewn to purchase. The following reduction must be noted from the prices of this day se'nnight:—Wheat, 1s. to 2s. per qr.; Barley, 2s.; Oats, ½d. to 1d. per stone; and Shelling, 1s. per load. Fine dry Beans, being scarce, maintain their value.

Hull, April 1.—The supplies of all Grain continue very moderate, and the demand equally so. The Millers and Dealers confine themselves to the choicest samples of Wheat, and purchased a trifle under the rates of last week, but could not be prevailed on to touch the second or ordinary descriptions, though offered 1s. per quarter cheaper.

Lynn, March 31.—We had a better supply of Wheat on Tuesday than for several preceding weeks; the best samples were sold at a reduction of 1s. to 2s. per quarter. Barley very dull sale; and both Malting and Grinding samples full 2s. per quarter cheaper.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Norwich Castle Meadow, March 31.—This being our great Easter fair day, and the extraordinary fineness of the weather brought an immense influx of company as well as stock from all parts of the country. Sheep and Lean Bullocks were in abundance, the former of which, although a slack sale, fetched high prices. Hoggetts 37s. to 46s. per head, but a vast number were drove off unsold. Lean Bullocks appeared a drug, fetching about 4s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of England and Wales, for the Week ended March 26, 1825.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*	72	4	40	11	25	7
Essex	72	3	39	6	26	6
Kent	71	7	43	3	27	1
Sussex	70	1	39	9	25	9
Suffolk	71	5	38	9	25	6
Cambridgeshire	68	4	39	11	19	4
Norfolk	68	4	38	3	26	10
Lincolnshire	66	8	45	1	22	6
Yorkshire	63	9	40	10	22	4
Durham	63	9	42	7	24	6
Northumberland	62	10	38	7	24	5
Cumberland	68	1	38	6	24	3
Westmoreland	69	0	39	0	25	0
Lancashire	68	3	0	0	27	5
Cheshire	66	10	53	3	26	2
Gloucestershire	72	2	44	9	27	9
Somersetshire	69	6	41	1	22	3
Monmouthshire	68	9	43	1	25	0
Devonshire	67	11	38	11	26	9
Cornwall	66	4	37	6	25	9
Dorsetshire	67	9	37	10	26	6
Hampshire	69	1	37	4	24	0
North Wales	67	0	41	2	21	11
South Wales	63	5	35	8	19	3

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.